

## Behind the New Cuban Crisis

(See Page 2)

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## Stormy Student Protest Against John Gates Ban

By Henry Gitano

MARCH 21 — The recent action of authorities barring John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, from speaking at New York's city colleges has aroused a storm of protest from students who are defending their right to hear whomever they want.

At City College (CCNY), March 13, the Student Council by a vote of 14 to 4 condemned the censorship ruling. The Observer Post, a CCNY newspaper noted that the administration's repression "is a damning admission of lack of faith in the basic tenets of our educational system. . . For City College, suppression of speakers is new and unwelcome. It is a slap in the face to a 100-year tradition of freedom of thought."

### FREEDOM LOSES

Kingsman, the Brooklyn College paper in its editorial, March 15, lashed out at the academic witch-hunters: "The forces of reaction have gained a victory; academic freedom on the municipal campuses has suffered a decisive setback. . . But Gates has not been the real loser. Hardest hit has been the educational system under which we study, the system which calls itself academically and intel-

lectually free. . . Where was the faith in the democratic system and in the students that have grown up under it? No political system should remain untested and unchallenged in order to prevail."

Hunter's Student Council, evening session, voted, March 18, to "affirm its belief that recognized campus groups should be permitted to invite and hear speakers of their own choice, regardless of the speakers' political affiliations or beliefs."

The Columbia University Spectator in an editorial, March 14, called it ironic that during Academic Freedom Week "such a paternal attempt should be made to guard the students from all but the most conventional viewpoints."

Leading off the student protests on March 12, the Queens College Student Senate voted 23 to 6 for a resolution criticizing Provost Thomas B. Garvey for banning Gates; the two hour meeting was attended by over

(Continued on page 2)

## Defies Racist "Traditions"



Birmingham steel worker Lamar Weaver (left) stands talking with Reverend and Mrs. F. L. Shuttlesworth seated in "white" Birmingham train terminal as they test Supreme Court desegregation decision. Compelled to leave by cops, Weaver was set upon by racists outside station. Cops stood by and then arrested and fined Weaver for "reckless driving" while escaping mob.

## The Ruling on the UAW Case

An Editorial

The winds from Washington, D. C., forebode the launching of an anti-labor campaign. They are blowing from the U. S. Supreme Court, the Senate, the Big Business lobbies and from one of the greatest wind-making machines — Senator McCarthy.

On March 11, by a five-three decision the Supreme Court reinstated a prosecution against the United Auto Workers that a federal court had thrown out. The particular "crime" cited was that in the 1954 election campaign the union had paid for several TV broadcasts urging the voters to defeat Republican Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan, a stooge of the auto barons.

The union does not deny sponsoring the broadcasts but maintains that the First Amendment, guaranteeing freedom of speech, protects its right to do so. The federal court in Michigan upheld the union and dismissed the indictment. The Supreme Court, however, refused to rule on the only issue involved — whether the union has the constitutional right to so participate in election campaigns. Instead it ordered that the case be tried — even though the union concedes beforehand that it paid for the broadcasts. Hence, the UAW will automatically be found guilty and only then may appeal to higher courts.

In a vigorous dissent, Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black and Douglas

attacked the majority opinion as a blow to the First Amendment.

While organized labor's political influence is catastrophically low today because of its short-sighted policy of supporting the Democratic Party as a lesser evil, the curtailing of labor's right to participate in election campaigns would be an obstacle for labor when it chooses to adopt an effective political action program — the launching of a labor party.

While the Supreme Court whittled away at labor's political rights, a Senate Investigating Committee was preparing public opinion for an attempt to pass more anti-labor legislation. The committee, assured of tremendous publicity by the unofficial cooperation of "Right-to-scab" and other anti-labor lobbies and by the Big Business press, has been holding the headlines for weeks with its revelations about the top officialdom of the Teamsters' union.

That the investigation of the Teamsters' leaders is considered by the Senate investigators as just the best take-off point and that their sights are on the whole labor movement was well indicated by the statement of Senator McCarthy, a member of the committee, on March 18. Attacking the UAW and threatening that it would be "investigated" next, he declared: "The Teamsters' union will smell like a high-grade perfume to what we will find in the Reuther union."

## American Way of Life (Southern Style)

(The following is the complete statement of Beatrice Young of Jackson, Miss., before a Senate Judiciary Sub-committee on Feb. 28. The text is reprinted from the Carolina Times, March 9.)

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Mrs. Beatrice Young. I am from Jackson, Mississippi. On the 25th of November 1956, my sister whipped her little girl and the following day, which was Nov. 26, Deputy Sheriff Andy Hopkins called my house about 5:30 in the afternoon and asked me if Mildred McGee (my sister's child) was at my home. I said "No," and he said, "If you have her it is going to cause you a lot of trouble." I said, "No, not any at all because she is not here." He then said to me that he was going to come over and search the house. I told him to come ahead and bring a search warrant. He told me he did not need a search warrant to search my house and called me a smart black S.O.B. I told him I knew the law and that if he came he had better bring a search warrant, and that I didn't like the idea of his cursing and was not going to have it. I hung up in his face.

About an hour and a half later, Deputy Hopkins knocked on the door and I opened it but did not unlock the screen door. He said, "Do you want me to kick this door to open it?" I said, "I will open it if you have brought a search warrant like I told you to do." He said, "You'd better open the door." I asked him again, "Do you have a search warrant?" He said, "Yes, open the door and I will give it to you." I opened

the door and he hit me in the head with his blackjack and came in. I asked him why he hit me but he didn't answer. I asked him again and he hit me in the mouth and told me to hush and that I was under arrest. I told him I had not done anything and if I was under arrest to take me to jail and stop cursing me.

On my way to jail, Deputy Hopkins asked me if I was working and for whom I worked. I

told him no one. He asked me where my husband worked and I said, "For the Government." He then said he always found that Negroes working for the Government were always smart and that this time it was his damn wife. He asked me if I had a lawyer. I told him "No." He cursed me and took me to jail. There was a man with him but he told the man not to come inside with him because he wanted

to take me in all by himself and that he had some work for me to do.

When we got inside, I asked Deputy Hopkins if I could use the phone to get someone to stay with my children. I called Mrs. Era Pitman who lives on Whitfield Mill Road. We then went upstairs and there Deputy Hopkins asked me my name and age. He said, "When I called you and came out you asked me for a search warrant didn't you?" I said, "Yes." He said, "I can give you thirty search warrants," and he started hitting and cursing me. I told him I had not done anything, and for him to stop hitting me. He did so for a few moments.

I began to talk to him and told him that I had had an operation on my head. The jailer sitting at the desk had not opened his mouth until then. He (Mr. Boteler) said, "Girl, let me see where you had your operation." I went to show him and he hit me on the head. I told him that I was two months pregnant. Mr. Boteler felt my waist and asked me what I had on. I said a girdle.

Deputy Hopkins said, "I thought you had a little boy or

Britain's "competitive position," particularly with West Germany. The union newspaper, Daily Herald, says however, "We had reached, said the government, that famous and fictitious plateau, where prices would stay put — if only wages did the same. And then it proceeded to push prices off the plateau . . . by government action, the prices of basic foods, schools, transport and health all went up. . . That is why the shipyards are silent."

A leader of the Boiemakers replied to a question about the effect of the strike on Britain's deteriorating dollar balance: "We are not worried about the effect it has on exports. What we are worried about is it having an effect on our wage claim."

The attitude of rank and file workers throughout Britain is revealed in the following actions: tens of thousands "downed tools" before the strike deadline, workers in marine engine shops struck in support of the shipyard workers, a mass meeting of municipal workers in Port Glasgow endorsed the strike.

## Detroit Socialist Nominee Calls for a Labor Ticket

DETROIT, March 17 — Sarah Lovell today opened her campaign as socialist candidate for mayor of Detroit in talks delivered before UAW Ford Local 600's Dearborn Assembly and Maintenance units.

The main theme of her campaign, she said, will be that "the labor movement and its allies, representing the majority of the population, have the power, the right and the duty to govern Detroit."

Primary elections will be held Sept. 16, but Mrs. Lovell has entered the campaign early in an attempt to reach the labor movement with the message that it can play a vital role in this year's city election.

Between now and July 27, the last date for filing nominating petitions, she explained, she will

strive to persuade the CIO and AFL to call a city-wide conference of local unions and pick a full labor slate to run for mayor and common council.

If the labor movement does this, she said, she would consider withdrawing in favor of the mayoralty candidate picked by labor. If not, she will remain in the race "to win votes for my platform and build sentiment for the formation of an independent labor party."

An independent labor slate could sweep the election, she said, if it adopted a fighting platform designed to meet the needs of the workers, housewives, minority groups and small homeowners. Presenting her own proposals for a platform on municipal issues, she warned, however, that the fight to obtain federal funds for local housing, schools and nurseries has to be tied up with a fight against the military budget in Washington.

(Excerpts from her talk will be printed in next week's Militant.)

### AIMS OF CAMPAIGN

In a statement to the Militant today, Mrs. Lovell said she hoped her campaign would accomplish at least two things:

"1. Convince as many workers as we can reach that their unions can and should begin engaging in politics independently of the capitalist parties.

"2. Provide a vehicle for all progressive and socialist-minded people in Detroit to work together in spreading the emancipating ideas of socialism and expressing their anti-capitalist sentiments at the polls."

Although the city election is "non-partisan" and no party labels will appear on the ballot, Mrs. Lovell is running openly as a socialist, already endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party.

Campaign headquarters of the Sarah Lovell for Mayor Committee are at 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1.

## Oppose Free Speech Curb



Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas (left) defended freedom of speech for Daily Worker editor John Gates (right) after Gates was denied right to speak at New York City colleges. Students at Queens College and Columbia University turned out in record numbers at meetings to protest the ban on Gates.



## Foster Defeated in Move To Oust Gates from DW

By Harry Ring

Supporters of the Foster faction in the resident National Committee of the Communist Party made an unsuccessful effort, March 14, to oust John Gates as editor of the Daily Worker, according to a report by Ted Poston in the March 15 New York Post. The move to oust Gates came as he was involved in fighting a threatened contempt citation by a House Un-American Activities subcommittee and while he was the central figure in a free speech fight in the city's colleges. The ouster motion was defeated seven to three, with one abstention.

According to Poston, who apparently received a first-hand account of the meeting, the attack on the Gates group was opened by Eugene Dennis on the basis of the publication in the magazine, Mainstream, of novelist Howard Fast's statement breaking with the Communist Party. Dennis also criticized the editors' reply as soft. The Fast statement included a strong denunciation of both Stalin and the present Khrushchev regime.

The Dennis attack was then followed up by Foster's principal lieutenant, Ben Davis, who made the motion to remove Gates as editor. Davis, along with Brooklyn CP leader Charles Loman reportedly attacked Gates for the handling of Fast and for the Daily Worker's handling of the Hungarian events.

Poston further reports that Loman charged that the Gates leadership in the New York State Committee of the Party favored "anti-Soviet" policies and that this charge so enraged State Chairman George Blake

Charney that he stalked out of the meeting.

An attempt to postpone the issue of removing Gates was made by James Jackson, generally considered a supporter of Foster. He is understood to have expressed the view that it would be a mistake to act on the ouster motion while Gates was involved in the present free speech fight and under attack by the House committee. His motion to table the issue was defeated. Gates then demanded an immediate vote on the motion to remove him. Jackson and Dennis then voted with Gates and the motion was defeated with Foster, Davis and Loman voting for removal.

The renewed attack on Gates is based on the charge by the Foster group that the Gates tendency is revising Marxist theory. Both Foster and Gates supported the main political line of the draft resolution adopted by the recent party convention.



# The Santana Story — Poverty and Prejudice

By Joyce Cowley

Socialist Workers Party Candidate  
For Mayor of New York  
(Third of series of three)

Segregated housing inevitably results in segregated schools. The three-year fight of the Intergroup Committee on New York's Public Schools has exposed conditions in these schools. Charges originally made by this committee were fully confirmed in a report by the Board of Education itself. Seventy percent of elementary school children in New York City attend "racially homogeneous" schools, which means they are either "all-white" or "all-Negro-and-Puerto-Rican." School zoning has been manipulated to reinforce this segregated pattern. School buildings in what are generally referred to as "deprived" areas are the oldest in the city and in the worst state of repair. By some sleight of hand, most of the improvements and new equipment are allocated to neighborhoods where the need is not so urgent. Schools in Anglo-American districts may have half-empty classrooms while classes in the Negro and Puerto Rican schools run on three shifts.

Few of the teachers really want to work in what are termed "difficult" schools, so there are a great many substitutes and frequent changes. A class sometimes has as many as ten different teachers in one year.

School authorities automatically lower academic standards when Puerto Ricans move into an area because it is assumed in advance they won't be able to do the work. A city Welfare Council report on Puerto Ricans in New York states:

"The public schools which have a large proportion of Puerto Rican students, and especially the high schools, have had much difficulty in inducting the children into the system. Teachers have found them slower to learn English than are many European-born children, and have not understood why this should be so. Nor have the teachers understood why so many Puerto Rican children should be unprepared to enter the classes normal for their age even if their English were sufficient."

## Key to the "Mystery"

This mystery is cleared up when you read the current Board of Education report. Most Puerto Ricans entering high school in New York attended grade school here and received such inferior education that they are not prepared for the work in academic high schools. They are rarely able to enter special schools (like Hunter and Bronx Science) which require competitive examinations. In most cases they don't even take these examinations since teachers don't encourage it and consider it more "practical" for a Puerto Rican youth to go to a vocational high school where he may be tolerated by authorities until he is 17 and then urged to leave.

Gangs usually develop at the high-school level and Puerto Rican youths are frequently accused of being responsible for the high delinquency rate in New York City. In Puerto Rico itself there is very little juvenile delinquency, but here it arises as a protest against inferior status and limited opportunities. It is always exaggerated because the police are more likely to arrest Puerto Ricans for minor offenses and because newspapers invariably play up delinquency cases in Puerto Rican areas. You

## An East Harlem "Apartment"



Scene in one of the "apartments" that makes East Harlem a rent-gougers' paradise. Puerto Rican and Negro families are Jim-Crowed into these slum dwellings and rents of \$15 to \$25 a week are extorted for such one-room "remodeled" dwellings.

rarely see a story in the papers about a delinquent youth whose family has lived in this country for generations and who is blond and blue-eyed; although boys of this description do commit crimes.

Frank Santana's story is similar to that of other Puerto Rican children in New York and symbolizes the problems created by economic exploitation and race conflict. His father died when he was four. His mother came to New York in 1950 and Frank followed her a year later. Mrs. Santana worked in a garment factory to support Frank and two younger brothers, but had to stop work because of poor health. Dr. Wertham describes her as a thin, frail, tired-looking woman. She impressed him as a conscientious mother who tried to do everything she could for the children. The home consisted of two rooms separated by a curtain, without kitchen or bathroom, but it was orderly and clean.

Frank got good marks in the 8th and 9th grades. He says he wanted to go to college and study languages so the next year he asked for French. The teacher suggested Spanish, which he called "silly," since he already knew Spanish. He also wanted a vocational course in radio and television but didn't get it — "just electricity." He didn't know why. It was at this point that his truancy started.

The truant officer who visited his home three times said: "When you are seventeen, we'll kick you out."

"I didn't want them to kick me out," Santana explained to Dr. Wertham. "When I was sixteen I told them I was fourteen, so they didn't kick me out." (He was small for his age and no one checked up.)

Why didn't he tell the truant officer about not getting the television course?

"I don't want to bother no one. You know how teachers are. When you ask them something they come yelling at you."

Dr. Wertham asked if at any time a teacher or guidance counselor had discussed his problems with him —

his desire to take television and languages, his truancy. The answer was no.

Social agencies are quite numerous in New York City and a sick mother on city relief with three boys to care for might seem like the kind of case which should receive some assistance. But no agency ever contacted her. Mrs. Santana needed medical care and had been going to a hospital clinic. When she dropped out, no one asked why. No one tried to find out the causes of Frank's truancy. It was easier to wait until he was seventeen and "kick him out." After the tragedy, the principal of the school described him as "incorrigible" and said he obviously needed psychiatric care — which he obviously did not get.

## Dr. Wertham's Appeal to Public

The I.Q. of 65 is puzzling in view of the fact that Frank got good marks for two years. But Negro and Puerto Rican children are frequently judged "subnormal" on the basis of group intelligence tests. Although it is illegal to place a child in a class for mentally retarded children on the basis of a group test, the Intergroup Committee on New York Public Schools charged that this frequently happened in the case of minority children. Puerto Ricans are at a special disadvantage because of language difficulties, and many normal children are adjudged mentally deficient and sent to institutions. These institutions may have only one psychologist for thousands of boys, and it takes a long time before he discovers that a boy was committed by mistake — if he ever does.

The fact that all authorities and agencies showed a complete lack of concern about the Santana family is not unusual. There are thousands of similar "routine" cases and no one pays any attention to them until a bullet interrupts the routine.

Sickness and poverty in a fatherless home, indifference and prejudice at school, anti-Puerto Rican hostility and threatening gangs in the neighborhood where he lived — this summarizes Frank Santana's background. One of the Santana neighbors (not a Puerto Rican) spoke to Dr. Wertham about the boy. He said Frank was quiet, well-mannered, always helped out if you needed him. He discussed the gangs, too. "Make no mistake about it, this is an area where they have to have a gang. On this block there is a complete division between Puerto Ricans and others. The Puerto Ricans can't go here or there because there are other boys. If a Puerto Rican boy walks in a white area! Then the trouble really starts!"

Dr. Wertham asked him to testify in court, but he said he couldn't possibly do it. If I said a good word for this boy, I'd lose my job! Don't you see? I have a family to think of!"

Neither William Blankenship, who joined a gang that beat up Puerto Ricans, nor Frank Santana, who bought a gun because he was afraid of that gang, were the "criminals" in this case. The racist antagonism that made Blankenship push Pedro, and the fear that made Santana grab for the gun, were both the result of race tensions and prejudice in the adult community where they lived.

A case like this would ordinarily end for everyone but Santana and his family when the cell door closed behind him and he started serving his term of 25 years to life. But Dr. Wertham, who never had an opportunity to tell a jury what he learned about Santana, decided to bring the facts before a wider jury. He wrote *Circle of Guilt*, a book which not only gives an honest presentation of what happened, and a brilliant psychological analysis, but an understanding of the economic background of the case. Dr. Wertham's book is more than a study of the various factors involved — it is a demand for action. Unfortunately, the reaction to the book has been rather limited.

# Regroupment Prospects Discussed in New ISR

By George Lavan

The Winter 1957 issue of International Socialist Review is now on the newsstands. Readers will find it highly interesting and informative with thought-provoking articles on a variety of subjects.

Especially timely is Murry Weiss' article, "Two Concepts of Socialist Unity." Here is a thoroughgoing examination of the proposals and attitudes of the various radical organizations in America on the much-discussed subject of "socialist regroupment." As the title suggests, the author finds that basically all the proposals break down into two categories. In the course of analyzing the various approaches to the regroupment discussion, the article traces and documents the positions of the Gates and Foster wings in the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Party-Socialist Democratic Federation, and the Independent Socialist League.

Another article bearing on the immediate American scene is Arne Swabeck's "American Prosperity Undermines Itself." Swabeck takes up questions that socialists run into almost every week — the exuberant claims of capitalist economists and their liberal-fellow travellers that the current boom has disproved Marx's economic predictions and that government regulation of the economy can prevent depressions.

"The greatest boom of all time" is still on. Is this proof that a "people's capitalism," unlike those in Europe or of the 19th century capitalism which Marx analyzed, has been achieved in America? What is the explanation and mechanism of the 15-year boom which the American economic system is still enjoying? Cannot prosperity be extended forever by giant-scale government spending for armaments or public works?

These are a few of the questions posed and answered by Swabeck. Their answering entails a discussion of the extent to which Keynesian views have infiltrated sections of the radical movement. In opposition to such unrealistic, reformist views Swabeck demonstrates the indispensability of Marxist economics for understanding the current position of American capitalism and its future.

## POWER ELITE

"The High and the Mighty" is the title of William F. Ward's review-article on what may prove to be 1956's most important book — *The Power Elite* by C. Wright Mills. After placing Mills' book in its historical sequence in the literature analyzing the American plutocracy, the article outlines the major contributions of this new sociological work. Most significant is its documentation of the rapid rise to the summits of power in America of the military. After crediting *The Power Elite* for its honest and fearless reporting of the facts of rule in contemporary America, Ward proceeds to an examination of those points on which the left-liberal school of sociology represented by Mills criticizes or denigrates from the Marxist concept of a "ruling class." To socialists who have given earnest consideration to Mills' arguments against Marxism because of his

patently anti-capitalist, pro-labor viewpoint and his great scholarship, this critique will be of inestimable value.

Another feature is the second and concluding installment of Leon Trotsky's famous article, "Stalin as a Theoretician." This important piece, long out of print, is thus made available once again and at a time when the Kremlin in its attempt to reverse the de-Stalinization inaugurated at the 20th Congress is soft-pedaling Stalin's "errors" and trumpeting his "contributions" to Marxist theory.

There is also another installment in that fascinating and invaluable source material of the history of the Communist Party of the U.S.—James P. Cannon's *Letters to a Historian*. A review of Simone de Beauvoir's political novel, *The Mandarins*, by Shane Mage completes the bill of fare for thought offered by the current International Socialist Review.

## ...Students

(Continued from page 1)

200 students. Gates was originally invited to address the Marxist Discussion Club, a Queens College student group. The Faculty Committee O.K.'ed Gates' appearance, but Garvey overrode them.

Following the Queens suppression of a CCNY Student Government Forum invited Gates. It was then that the five city college presidents from CCNY, Hunter, Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island voted to extend the gag to all five campuses, giving the miserable McCarthyite excuse, that Gates was convicted under the infamous Smith Act.

The Board of Higher Education by a vote of 12-2 noted with approval, March 19, that the presidents denied "campus courtesies to persons convicted under the Smith Act." According to the Daily Worker, a member of the CCNY student government, in

opposing the ban on Gates, pointed out that two people under the Smith Act category spoke at the college recently. They were Communist Party leader Benjamin Davis and Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The Crown, Queens College paper, in an editorial strongly attacking Garvey, observed that "there is something basically wrong with a system which can so summarily exclude an important minority point of view."

On the door of Queens College Remsen Hall where Gates was due to speak, a sign was tacked: "Here lies the empty room in which John Gates was to speak. We here commemorate the death of academic freedom in the schools of New York."

Supporting the fight for free speech, the John Dewey Society of Columbia University (not a city college) invited Gates. On March 18 he discussed the American Communist Party before 800 attentive students. With Gates on the platform were Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe. The next day, Gates spoke again at Columbia to an overflow audience of 350 students at a rally called by the Eugene V. Debs Society. Meanwhile Norman Thomas told 350 students at Queens College that freedom cannot be maintained by barring the Daily Worker editor.

The New York Civil Liberties Union is sponsoring a "Broadway Campus" to maintain the principle of free speech. All students had been invited to hear John Gates speak on "Intellectual Freedom and the Communist Party Convention" — the speech he was barred from giving before city college campuses — on March 22 at the Hotel Martini, Broadway and 33rd Street. Today, the hotel canceled use of the hall. The ACLU is working to obtain other accommodations. (This is the first time in the ACLU's 37-year history that it has been barred from a hall in New York City.)

There's a fresh breeze blowing — the students are no longer afraid. Student papers, petitions, mass meetings, student councils, are all expressing the students' conviction that they have a right to think for themselves, and they are ready to defend that right.

# Behind the Crisis of Regime in Cuba

By William Bundy

The regime of General Fulgencio Batista, the military dictator who has ruled Cuba in the interests of Wall Street for 16 of the 24 years since the revolution of 1933, is in serious crisis. Batista still maintains control of the government and the Army, but popular discontent and open armed revolt against his corrupt and bloody rule is growing.

The latest incident occurred March 13, when a group of about 20 university students, supported by covering fire from other youths on surrounding rooftops, attacked Batista's residence, the Presidential Palace in Havana, in an apparent attempt to capture the palace and kill the dictator. The palace guard and Army units crushed the attempt. Forty-five persons were killed, including Jose Echevarria, president of the student federation at the University of Havana. The school has been closed due to student opposition to Batista.

GUERRILLA FIGHTING  
The University of Oriente, in Santiago de Cuba, capital of Oriente province has also been closed for the same reason. A guerrilla band, led by another student leader, Fidel Castro, associated with the "26th of July Movement," is reported, Feb. 24, by Herbert Matthews, New York Times correspondent, to be operating with some success in the mountains of Oriente province. (Castro's movement gets its name from an attempt on July 26, 1953 by a band of youths to capture a barracks in Santiago de Cuba. That revolt failed after 100 were killed.)

The 26th of July movement, according to Matthews, is composed of youths of all kinds, is separate from the student movement, and "is a revolutionary movement which calls itself socialist."

Castro himself, the son of a rich plantation owner, told the Times reporter, "We are fighting for a democratic Cuba and an end to the dictatorship."

A rigid censorship has been clamped on all news in Cuba since Castro's band began operating last December, but individual acts of sabotage have been reported throughout the island. "As a desperate measure of counter-terror," says the Feb. 25 N. Y. Times, "the police kill someone virtually every time a bomb is exploded in Havana, riddle his body with bullets, put a bomb in his hand, and call the press photographers." In Oriente province, dozens of youths have been found dead in roads since Batista's troops began a campaign of indiscriminate terror. The torture killing of a 15-year-old youth resulted in a protest march, Jan. 4, by eight hundred women in Santiago de Cuba. They carried placards reading "Stop killing our sons!"

The violent resistance is apparently being carried out largely by student and other middle-class youth, and the Times reports movements of "civic resistance" to Batista by "influential citizens" and "business and professional men of the highest type," being formed in Havana and Oriente province. There have been no reports of strikes as yet, but Batista is hated by the workers of Cuba. He first came to power in 1933, four months after the general strike and revolution which ousted dictator Machado. Machado's successor, Ramon Grau San Martin, failed to either satisfy the strikers' needs, or the needs of the big planters and U. S.-owned sugar corporations for a stable anti-labor regime.

Batista, as chief of staff of the military dictatorship which replaced San Martin, restored order with such tactics as machine-gunning union headquarters. He

injustice is apparently so common that even liberal critics accept it calmly, and in some instances concentrate their attention on secondary aspects of the book. A review in The New Republic, first repeats one of the most popular distortions in this case: "Frank Santana, a Puerto Rican teenager, for no apparent reason shot and killed Billy Blankenship." Then it proceeds to a discussion of Dr. Wertham's criticism of mass media, with which it disagrees. It completely ignores the fact that a youth is in jail, that the true facts of the case reveal he has been unjustly sentenced, and that he should be released.

In the Puerto Rican community the book aroused more interest, and the Spanish-language newspaper, "El Diario" initiated a campaign for commutation of Frank Santana's sentence. This has received support from two groups, the Council of Hispanic American Organizations and the Federation of Hispanic Societies. Recently, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell announced that he had read Dr. Wertham's book, learned of the effort being made for commutation of the sentence, and would like to intercede for Santana. So the first steps have been taken.

But far more than this will be needed to obtain Santana's release. The whole labor movement, the Negro organizations, civil rights and civil liberties organizations, should support the initial action of the Spanish-American groups.

The only legal means for Santana to win his freedom is through a pardon by Governor Harriman. But a pardon will not be granted unless the Governor sees that labor and minority organizations are militantly opposed to this kind of newspaper and police frame-up. A governor is a politician, and he will not interest himself in a case of this type unless he learns that a great many voters are interested in it, too. To get a hearing, you first have to make yourself heard, and it is a good idea to assume that all public officials are slightly deaf.

## How Santana Can Be Freed

The governor may find it difficult to hear the voices demanding Santana's release because he is more accustomed to listening to the open-shop employers who want to keep the Puerto Rican people in economic subjection, to the landlords whose rat-infested tenements have become very valuable real estate, to the machine politicians who are paid by these employers and landlords to protect their interests, and to the professional racists who openly refer to Puerto Ricans as "these animals" who "assume the community not only owes them a living but junk money."\* These are the men who really sent Santana to jail and they all have a stake in keeping him there. They are satisfied with the present very profitable situation, and winning freedom for this youth would strike a blow at their systematic exploitation of the Puerto Rican community. A re-examination of this case might reveal the part they play in creating race conflicts and gang killings, and they don't welcome this type of publicity.

That's why the truth about the Santana case must be brought to the attention of every union in the city, of all Negro and Puerto Rican organizations, of every group that fights prejudice and injustice. Resolutions must be passed demanding Santana's release, and messages sent to Governor Harriman. A broad committee must be set up, with the widest possible representation of labor, minority and youth organizations. A united committee can mobilize the forces that will open the cell door and set Santana free. It can also point the way toward a more fundamental solution of the problems of the Puerto Rican community.

February 25, 1957

\*Jack Lait &amp; Lee Mortimer in U.S.A. Confidential

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Monday, March 25, 1957

## A New Attack on the Foreign Born

Since the opening of the cold war, foreign-born workers have been a special target of the witch hunt, singled out as particularly vulnerable because of their legal status as naturalized citizens or non-citizens. Special surveillance and persecution of the foreign born has been accompanied throughout by the invidious labelling of radical views as "foreign."

This attack on the rights of the foreign born was stepped up again with the hearing of the House Un-American Activities subcommittee which just concluded its public sessions in New York.

Obviously aimed at investigation of "subversive" propaganda of local and foreign origin, the committee used its arbitrary power of smear to associate birth in a foreign land and "disloyalty." At the same time the committee attempted to level new blows at freedom of the press with the radical foreign language press as a major target.

The committee made the astounding "discovery" that 15 of the 18 editors of foreign-language papers hailed before it were not born in the U.S. At the conclusion of the hearing, the committee made sweeping proposals to begin denaturalization proceedings against such editors as guilty of "treason." The principal reason given for this completely un-

substantiated charge was the fact that they had expressed editorial opposition to the reactionary U.S. role in the Korean war. To establish this as the basis for treason would go far in undermining the rights of the American people as a whole. It is now a fact of history that opposition to U.S. participation in the Korean war was not confined to radicals and "foreigners." The Korean war was certainly the most unpopular one this country ever engaged in.

The House committee has now moved to Chicago to continue its attacks on the foreign-language press, to try to breed more suspicion of foreign-born workers, and to further bludgeon such workers into conformity with capitalist public opinion.

That is why it is welcome news to hear of the formation in Chicago of the Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, with Harvey O'Connor, Chairman; Cecile Trace, Vice-Chairman; and Carl Braden, Secretary-Treasurer. As its first undertaking, the committee is mobilizing aid for those subpoenaed by the Un-American Committee at its Chicago hearings. (See story, page four.) The Committee to Preserve American Freedoms deserves the full support of all civil liberties defenders.

## Gov't Stool Pigeons and the Racists

Louisiana's white-supremacist politicians are showing that when it comes to a smear job they are just as up-to-date as McCarthy or Walter. The recent hearing in Baton Rouge, the state capital, by the Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation was a prime example of the modern witch hunt. The committee chairman, Senator Willie M. Rainach, a notorious organizer of the White Citizens Councils, imported a trio of professional informers trained in the FBI and Congressional "investigating" committee stables. At an undisclosed rate of hire, professional witnesses Manning Johnson, Leonard Patterson and Joseph Z. Kornfeeder then proceeded to smear the whole struggle of the Negro people against Jim Crow as "Communist-led," "Communist-infiltrated," and "following the Communist line."

The "you name them I'll testify against them" witnesses attacked Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery Bus Protest; the presidents of Atlanta, Howard and Dillard Universities; the president of the Negro Ministers Alliance in New Orleans; historian W. E. B. DuBois; UN official Ralph Bunche; and many national leaders of the NAACP. To show that his talents could be put to local as well as general use by the white supremacists, Johnson launched an attack

on Rev. T. J. Jemison of the Baton Rouge Christian Movement who has been threatened by the KKK for leading the city's bus integration struggle. (Since the outlawing of the NAACP in Louisiana and other Southern states Negro organizations like the Christian Movement have sprung up to carry on the struggle.)

This use of the "investigating" committee technique to smear individuals and organizations marks the second stage of adoption by the Southern white supremacists of the techniques developed in the witch hunt.

First technique was the Attorney General's so-called subversive list. This unconstitutional device aimed at putting the listed organizations out of business or crippling them without trial or hearing. Over a year ago the Attorney General of Georgia followed suit by publicly declaring that the NAACP was "subversive" thus beginning the campaign which has resulted in the banning or crippling of the NAACP in six states.

For the NAACP and the smeared Negro leaders to protest that they aren't "subversive," that the Southern officials are prejudiced, the hearings a fake, misses the point altogether. The federal "subversive" list and the whole witch hunt itself is a fake and a fraud and must be exposed and defeated.

## Dobbs Writes Reporter Magazine on Teamsters

Editor:

I read with interest Paul Jacobs' very informative two-part article on the Teamsters Union in the Jan. 23 and Feb. 7 issues of The Reporter. In view of Mr. Jacobs' manifest desire to accurately present the relevant facts of the development of that union I would like to touch briefly on a point in that development, the omission of which could confuse the reader.

Recounting the decisive chapters in the shaping of the Teamsters Union, Mr. Jacobs tells how the union in Minneapolis, under a Trotskyist leadership, opened an organizing drive in 1933 that transformed the union in that city from a small, ineffectual craft organization into a powerful industrial union that served as the springboard for the organization of the over-the-road drivers throughout the Northwest. Mr. Jacobs assesses this development as one that "established a wholly new pattern for the organization of Teamsters unionism, one that has guided it to its present size and success."

Mr. Jacobs also reported the opposition of the union's international president, Daniel J. Tobin, to the campaign of industrial organization as carried on by the Minneapolis union, Local 574. Omitted from his account, however, is the final outcome of the inner-union struggle which resulted.

Tobin originally tried to stymie the Minneapolis leadership in its unionization drive. He publicly attacked Local 574 during the

1934 strike. After the strike ended in victory he revoked the local's charter with the international union. For the next two years he fought vigorously to smash the newly created industrial-type local and replace it with an impotent old-line craft union.

However, the continued success of the local union thrust Tobin into an internal conflict. His narrow, craft-union mentality repelled him from the industrial union policy of the Minneapolis Trotskyists. At the same time he saw thousands of dues-paying members pouring into the union and the prospects this gave for developing the international union into a major power. In 1936, Tobin therefore entered into a "truce" with the Minneapolis union. At that time Local 574 was re-chartered as Local 544. In 1938 Tobin went so far as to appoint me as an international representative in charge of the eleven-state area committee which had been sparked by the Minneapolis union to organize the over-the-road drivers in the Northwest.

Later, in the spring of 1941, Tobin resumed his warfare against the Minneapolis union and sought to place Local 544 under the dictatorial power of a receiver. Involved at that time was an attempt on his part to make the local union leaders support Roosevelt's foreign policy or get out of office.

The local leadership refused and reported the new fight with Tobin to the membership which

then voted to withdraw from the Teamsters International and accept a charter from the CIO. One of the results of the ensuing battle was the indictment under the Smith Act of 28 people including the union's central leadership and national leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. This first trial under the Smith Act was held in the fall of 1941. Among the 18 convicted were the leaders of the union, including V. R. Dunne and Carl Skoglund.

With the Smith Act conviction, Tobin finally won his battle to capture control of the union and proceeded to convert it from what Mr. Jacobs accurately characterized as an "instrument of class struggle" to one of ultra-conservative "business unionism."

Regarding my own relationship to the union: At the end of 1939, on my own initiative, I left the post of international representative to devote my full time to work on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party. At that time Tobin asked me to stay on with the International, offering me lucrative inducements to make the request attractive. But I had already become firmly convinced that the next great task of the workers is to create their own independent political party and I was determined to devote my efforts toward that end as I have done ever since.

Sincerely Yours,  
 Farrell Dobbs  
 National Secretary,  
 Socialist Workers Party

(In the Feb. 11 Militant we published a statement by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party entitled "Regroupment: A Programmatic Basis for Discussion of Socialist Unity." The SWP advanced the viewpoint that a full and fraternal discussion of program was a prerequisite for unifying revolutionary socialists in the U.S. and proposed 12 concrete programmatic points to facilitate the discussion. We have invited readers of the SWP statement to comment on it in our pages. A number have already done so. Below we print two further comments. — Ed.)

### "Price of Unity"

Gentlemen:

I am writing my views on the Socialist regroupment. This regroupment seems to me to be the most important question facing the Socialist movement today. There has to be a regroupment if socialism is ever to replace the present type of government. As it is now there are several small groups of Socialists. These groups alone can do nothing. Together they can accomplish much.

If the Socialist movement was united they could devote their time to recruiting new members, and educating the non-Socialist people. These activities would be of greater help than the bickering that is now going on. I realize that you don't think much of the SP-SDF merger but that is the best thing that has happened to the Socialist movement in years. These two groups have shown that they can settle their

different problems under a united front. This is the only way that unity can be achieved. If the Socialists had many more members than now a different approach to unity could be followed. As it is the number of Socialists is minute compared to the population. When a minority attempts to achieve a

goal all members of the minority have to work together. As it is the SWP has one angle, the SP-SDF another angle and the other parties still another angle toward unity.

With all parties pulling in different directions, unity will never be achieved. In the best interests of the socialist movement, unity will have to be obtained before any hope of a socialist victory can be fulfilled. How can a well-built socialist party be obtained if there are three or four different parties claiming they offer the true road to Socialism? This in itself is a deterrent to anyone that might be interested in becoming a socialist. They wouldn't know which Socialist Party to join.

Although the merger of SP and SDF leaves much to be desired, they have shown the right road to socialist unity. They have a better insight into the question than any of the other parties. They have at least gotten out of the talking stage and into the doing stage. This type of action does more good than reams of written intentions.

It is a fact that anything you get you have to pay a price for. The price of unity may seem high but the result would more than pay for the costs.

Since you have opened the pages of the Militant to a discussion of regroupment, I thought I would offer my views. In conclusion I would like to say that I believe you should study the merger of the SP and SDF more closely. I believe you would find that they have found the key to socialist unity.

M. G.  
 Kingsport, Tenn.

### Urges Joint Actions

Editor, The Militant:

I just finished reading the article in the Feb. 11 Militant entitled "Programmatic Basis for Unity Discussions." While I

## Reports on Symposia in Philadelphia and L. A.

Two recent noteworthy events in the process of socialist "regroupment," now being discussed in radical labor circles throughout the country, were symposia in Philadelphia and Los Angeles at which audiences were able to compare the viewpoints of various parties and question their spokesmen.

Approximately 200 attended a symposium held at the New Century Club in Philadelphia on March 15 to hear speakers representing five different organizations present their views on "What's Ahead for the American Left." The audience signified their approval of the symposium-discussion by applauding each of the speakers who hailed the organization of a public confrontation of conflicting tendencies in the radical labor movement.

### LIST OF SPEAKERS

Organizations and speakers represented at the symposium were: J. A. Davidson, Independent Socialist League; Tom Kerry, Socialist Workers Party; John L. Levine, Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation; Joseph Roberts, East Pennsylvania District, Communist Party; Charles Walker, Revolutionary Socialist; Lyle Tatum, Executive Secretary of the Friends Service Committee, Middle Atlantic Region, acted as moderator.

Because of the general character of the subject the discussion tended to wander over a wide area and embraced a diverse number of topics of interest to the socialist movement. Roberts, Communist Party spokesman, directed his remarks to the position of the CP on the need for a broad "people's alliance against monopoly" which would be realized through a "realignment" of the forces now making up the Democratic Party coalition. Charles Walker advocated a pacifist program to advance the struggle for human rights.

The focal point of the discussion, however, was the presentation and debate of conflicting points of view on the vital problem of socialist regroupment, presented by the speakers representing the SP-SDF, SWP and ISL. Davidson of the ISL strongly urged a regroupment of socialist forces through affiliation with the recently merged Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. Davidson brushed aside the programmatic differences insisting that everyone could unite on the one plank: "Democracy." The one thing that commended the SP-SDF to Davidson was the fact that, in his opinion, they "had no program."

Lewine, who spoke for the SP-SDF, made an impassioned recruiting speech but, when challenged, failed to explain why his organization continues to reject the ardent wooing of the ISL.

### NEED FOR PROGRAM

Tom Kerry of the SWP took sharp issue with the "no-program" approach to socialist regroupment. A firmly founded unification, he contended, could only take place on the basis of programmatic agreement on basic issues. Otherwise, he added, the structure would fly apart at the first serious impact of the revolutionary events now unfolding on a world scale. In the light of these events, he concluded, to slough over the profound divergence between revolutionary socialism and State Department socialism constitutes a betrayal of the struggle for socialism.

### LOS ANGELES MEET

The Los Angeles symposium on "What Is the Meaning of Socialist Regroupment" took place on March 16, with three speakers. They were: Max Shachtman of the Independent Socialist League, Harry Siitonen of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, and Arne Swabeck for the Socialist Workers Party. About 130 people were there.

Two main positions emerged on how regroupment should be approached. Siitonen and Shachtman pointed to the SP-SDF as the answer to the problem. Shachtman argued for general unification in it, leaving discussion and clarification of program for a later time.

Swabeck's position was that first there should be a general exploration of the different views, discussion of the various questions and an attempt to reach agreement and unification on at least minimum fundamentals. He said: "We prefer this procedure because sufficient agreement on program is necessary before durable organizational conclusions can be reached. Moreover, the program agreed upon will certainly shape the movement and ultimately determine its success or failure when the American working class swings into action and turns toward socialist leadership."

### ISSUE OF LENINISM

Challenged on the SP-SDF's qualification that those joining it must renounce Leninism, Shachtman replied that he could accept the condition because by it Norman Thomas meant not Leninism as Shachtman understood it but believed that Leninism stood for lying and deceit.

## Letters on Regroupment

While I recognize the value of free and tolerant discussions in ironing out differences of opinion and theoretical differences, I do not think that all differences can be reconciled by this method alone.

A tolerant and democratic attitude can, of course, go a long way toward breaking down dogmatic and imaginary barriers that may exist between different groups. This to my mind is the main value of mutual discussion around all those points of disagreement that exist within the left movements.

It is my growing conviction that if a real and lasting unity can be obtained in the American left movement, it will require more than just academic discussion of our differences; it will also require a frank discussion of our points of agreement.

This brings me to the crux of my argument: that on all those points where we find agreement which in no wise violate socialist principles, we also seek joint action in struggle.

I firmly believe that in the practical daily struggles the left can come to grips with its theoretical differences and that in a theoretical analysis of the problems presented by the practical situation, we will reach a common theoretical understanding and organic unity.

Otherwise we become abstract academic theoreticians, and become separated from the masses and their immediate and ultimate objectives.

"Without theory, practice is barren; without practice, theory is sterile," said Lenin.

J. B.  
 Seattle

## Our Readers Take the Floor

### Voices Desire For Peace

Editor:

I have been reading the Militant for some time. It is an indispensable factor in my life today, which contributes to my understanding of the real situation in the U.S.

As a Japanese student, who is now attending college in the U.S., however, I am facing a set of problems, which, although in line with the militant movement of the workers on an international scale, is quite different from that of ordinary American workers and students.

As you may well know, the average Japanese citizens regard the U.S. as a paradise on earth, where everybody drives a Cadillac and every worker is happy in this "democratic" system, enjoying "peace and prosperity." My task must be to break such illusion among my people and tell them the truth; specifically on the segregation issue, civil liberties, anti-labor movement, etc. In connection with this, I will be grateful to you if you would dig up some information on Douglas MacArthur Jr., the U.S. ambassador to Japan. His private, as well as official, background information would be appreciated. I think we ought to give this spokesman for the Wall Street warmongers some publicity, too.

A Japanese newspaper reports that the U.S. government refused a visa to Mrs. Kuboyama, widow of the fisherman who became the first victim of the H-bomb. She planned to visit the U.S. with the sponsorship of peace organizations in order to appeal to the U.S. Government and American people to halt further atomic experiments. Now that she can-

not come, and I am right here in the U.S., I think that it is my duty to convey this poor woman's wish to the American people. I hope that you will provide me with opportunities to express the Japanese people's desire for peace. This, I think, is to serve, in Plekhanov's words, "the great social needs of our time."

S. K.

### White Collar Prejudices

Editor:

Many people believe male white collar workers treat women as their equals and always with consideration. But in my experience this is not so. When I was working in an advertising studio on Madison Avenue, male chauvinism (the idea that man is woman's natural superior) exerted itself at all times. And particularly when working at nights their prejudices reached vulgarity. These experiences enlightened me about the prejudices of workers. This should be an eye opener to all those people who believe that only factory workers are imbued with prejudices.

On the other hand when I had problems, personal or otherwise, their real feelings were shown. These workers were willing to help me and seemed sympathetic to the trouble.

In reality, prejudices and sensitivity exist side by side. Under our society, capitalism gives workers a life of frustrations and by its own inhumanity of exploitation brings out the most backward prejudices. Socialism will bring forth the latent humanity now suppressed.

B. D.  
 New York

## Wall Street's Financial Stake In the New Indonesian Crisis

By Vincent Copeland

At first glance, the Wall Street-dominated U.S. State Department seems to be playing a rather minor role in the current Indonesian political crisis. Actually, the corporation-connected officials must be watching events there very closely, if they are not already intervening.

The stakes appear to be small. Total U.S. investment in faraway Indonesia is not much more than a \$100 million at present. (This is only one-fifth of U.S. holdings in Mexico, one-tenth of those in Brazil, and about one-tenth of what the Dutch still have in Indonesia.)

One might think that the U.S. government would hardly concern itself with the small change of a hundred million dollars. It would be beneath the dignity of a six-hundred billion dollar capitalist nation to mix into the politics of little Indonesia in any way, would it not?

Sadly enough, — it wouldn't. It is not the amount of U.S.

capital involved in Indonesia that is so important. It is who owns this investment, and how powerful they are in the U.S. Government, that counts.

The bulk of American investment in Indonesia is held by the following seven companies: Goodyear Tire and Rubber, U.S. Rubber, Union Carbide and Carbon, Texaco, Socony-Vacuum, Standard Oil of California, and Procter and Gamble.

Goodyear is controlled by the \$3 billion dollar Cleveland bankers' clique who financed the anti-labor candidacy of Charles A. Taft and who still own a stable of U.S. Senators and a flock of Representatives in Washington. U.S. Rubber is owned 40% by the Duponts who besides their quota of Senators and Congressmen, have placed their GM man, Charles E. Wilson, in the most strategic position in Washington. Texaco is owned by a group of Pennsylvania and Texas politicians with strong influence in national politics (the Guffeys of Pennsylvania and Hoggess of Texas). Texaco works hand in

glove with Standard Oil (the Rockefeller) in international politics.

Union Carbide and Carbon is partially controlled by the Rockefellers. So is Socony-Vacuum. So is Standard of California. The Rockefellers have close financial links with Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey (through his National Steel Company) and with Eisenhower himself. Indeed, the Rockefellers were the first Wall Streeters to sponsor Eisenhower's presidential campaign. And, of course, they have a very large corps of Washington lawyers, lobbyists and Congressmen.

Procter and Gamble is Morgan influenced. And the House of Morgan is generally even more powerful than the Rockefellers in U.S. politics, having sponsored more presidents of the United States (and more successfully) than any other banking house. The Morgans are blocked with the Duponts in control of GM and in control of Charles E. Wilson, as well as the majority of Eisenhower's cabinet.

The U.S. capitalists who invest in Indonesia, therefore, are also those who run the United States Government. As individuals, since they "only" have a \$100 million at stake, it would not make good sense to spend another \$100 million or so of their own money to protect that investment. But it does make very good business sense to spend \$100 million, or even a billion of somebody else's money, the somebody else being the people of the United States. And these gentlemen are in a position to do exactly that with their control of the U.S. Treasury, the Government, and the Armed Forces.

### OLD POLICIES DISGUISED

U.S. troops intervened in Nicaragua, and U.S. diplomacy openly intervened in Guatemala for the benefit of an even smaller American group than is involved in Indonesia (mainly the Morgan clique in both cases) But this is 1957; Indonesia is a country of 80 million people; the colonial masses everywhere are in motion. The Wall Street government must assume an air of detachment, while it secretly scrambles to the aid of its little circle of reactionary friends in Indonesia. Subtlety, hypocrisy and diplomatic hawking to the democratic galleries must conceal the counter-revolutionary policies of American finance capital today. But they are the same policies as yesterday, equally opposed to the interest of the oppressed people of Indonesia and the rest of the world.

## New Attacks on Press By Mollet Government

By John Thayer

Emboldened by the relative impunity with which he has been able to attack the freedom of the radical press, "Socialist" Prime Minister Mollet of France has extended the attack to a leading Paris weekly, L'Express. Its editor, Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, has been indicted before a military tribunal for "writings designed to undermine the army's morale."

The articles in question are a series on what the author saw during his recent military service in Algeria — the everyday atrocities committed by the French military and police against the freedom-seeking population. The series is by no means a complete expose of French terrorism, which is employing in Algeria all the methods used by the Nazis when they occupied countries.

Preparation to muzzle the French press began with seizures of those papers which were in complete support of Algerian independence. These were the papers of the syndicalists and Trotskyists — in particular the Trotskyist newspaper, La Verite, the first and most frequently suppressed by the French government.

In 1956 the printshop of La Verite was raided eight times, papers already printed confiscated and the metal type of



# New Chicago Group to Resist House 'Un-American' Probe

MARCH 20 — As the House Un-American Activities Committee moved to Chicago to further its attack on the free press and to extend its smear of foreign born workers, it found itself confronted with organized opposition by the newly-organized Committee to Preserve American Freedoms. The committee of in-



HARVEY O'CONNOR

dividuals from the labor and liberal movement has dedicated itself to marshalling public opposition to the reactionary work of the House committee and to aid in the defense of those Chicagoans subpoenaed to appear before it this week.

Chairman of the committee is the distinguished journalist and free-speech fighter, Harvey O'Connor. Cecil Trace is vice-chairman. Secretary-treasurer is Carl Braden whose courageous fight against Jim Crow led to his persecution in the Louisville "secession" case.

An appeal for support issued

by the committee declares that "Some of the people summoned by the Walter Committee are editors of foreign-language newspapers published in Chicago. Apparently in the eyes of the Walter Committee anyone who speaks or writes in a foreign language is suspect. This is in line with the objectives of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, of which Congressman Walter is co-author."

The statement further brands the committee hearings as aimed to "destroy the foreign language newspapers because of their influence in arousing opposition to the Walter-McCarran Act."

## PAID INFORMERS

Declaring that suppression of the rights of the foreign-language press jeopardizes the security of all newspapers, the statement points out that "The Walter Committee seeks to accomplish its purpose by having paid informers attack those with whom it disagrees. These informers label as subversive and un-American those who sell books not approved by Secretary of State Dulles, or who show Russian films, or who oppose repressive legislation."

In support of its condemnation of the House Committee, the statement cites the editorial view of the Detroit Free Press, sister paper of the Chicago Daily News. That paper bluntly declared: "The most un-American activity in the U.S. is the conduct of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. It is so viciously flagrant a violation of every element of common decency associated with human liberty that it is a foul mockery of all that Jefferson and Lincoln made articulate in their dreams of a cleaner, finer order on earth."

Among the Chicagoans hailed

before the Walter Committee are Mrs. Alice Yonik, Leon Pruseika, Jacob Paulukas and Vincent Andrusis of Surge, a Lithuanian-language daily published in Chicago since 1920. Also Anthony Minerich of the Croatian weekly, People's Voice and John Zuskas of the Slovak weekly, People's News. Also John Rossen and LeRoy Wolins, film exhibitors and Otto Wangerin, operator of Modern Bookstore.

The Committee to Preserve American Freedoms in addition to calling for public protest against the activity of the Un-American Activities Committee, is demanding its abolition by Congress. The Committee has appealed for contributions to help finance its efforts. Its office is in room 501 at 208 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Illinois.



CARL BRADEN

## ... Dodge Elections

(Continued from page 1)

dodge the vital speed-up issue, the Rank-and-File platform demanded that the International officers force an end to the Chrysler speed-up by holding the speed of Chrysler production at its present level and cutting back that of its two main competitors, GM and Ford. The top UAW officials had pledged to follow such a program, and the Rank-and-File caucus demanded that they redeem the pledges.

To cope with the problem of runaway jobs, the Rank and File ticket demanded the right of the union to negotiate on relocation of plants and allocation of jobs. Another plank in its platform called for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay to combat unemployment and automation. It also opposed the proposed International dues increase.

The election was followed with close interest by the other Detroit UAW locals, and the startling victory of the Rank and File is providing little comfort for supporters of the Reuther machine.

## Strike at L. A. Chrysler Plant

More than 4,000 members of United Auto Workers Local 230 in Los Angeles shut down the Chrysler Maywood plant on March 15 to force settlement of grievances centering around the company's sharply accelerated speed-up practices. The strike was authorized by the UAW International Executive Board after weeks of fruitless negotiations on the issue. Earlier this month the plant was shut down for two days with an unauthorized walk-out in protest against the speed-up.

## BEHIND MIDEAST DOCTRINE

The following figures of ownership of the oil reserves in the Mideast shed light on the Eisenhower Doctrine: in 1946 British capital owned 49.9% and U.S. capital, 35.3%; in 1955 U.S. capital owned 58.4% and British holdings had sunk to 28.4%.

holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 116 University Place, at 8 P.M. The discussion on Tues., March 26 will be on "Socialism and the Democratic Party," Bert Deck, Speaker.

## "The History of American Socialism"

a series of classes led by JOYCE COWLEY will begin Monday, April 8, at 8-10 p.m. and will continue on every Monday night until June 10.

Register Now:  
Marxist Labor School  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N.Y.  
Phone AL 5-7852

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, MARCH 25, 1957

NUMBER 12

# Banks Demands Integrated, Low-Cost Housing for L. A.

## On Eve of Independence



Young Gold Coast artists paint a hotel mural as their country prepared to celebrate its emergence as independent state of Ghana. Many U.S. Negroes travelled to Ghana for the celebration. The noted Negro historian, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois was invited by the premier of Ghana but the U.S. State Department refused him a passport.

LOS ANGELES, March 15 — Addressing a meeting of the Operating Engineers, Local 12, Erroll Banks tonight hit at the moves of the capitalist politicians to block an adequate low-cost housing program for the city. Banks is a socialist candidate for Mayor, running with the support of the Socialist Workers Party.

"The first major, official act of Mayor Poulson after he was elected to office was to fly to Washington to kill the Federal Housing Project Plan for Chavez Ravine and Rose Hill," Banks charged.

"Now Mr. Poulson wants to turn the Chavez Ravine area into a ball park for the Brooklyn Dodgers," he continued. "I'm all for major league games here, but I cannot go for this. In effect the Mayor is saying, 'The people need housing? — Give them a ball park!'"

## JIM-CROW SCHOOLS

"It is well known," Banks added, "that slum housing breeds crime. In addition, segregated housing, such as exists in Central Avenue and the Watts area, lead inevitably to Jim Crow schools and Jim Crow living conditions and by dividing the population along racial lines, stirs up racial tension."

"It is a crying scandal that segregated housing and slum dwellings are allowed to exist in Los Angeles—one of the six richest cities in the world. There is an urgent need here for modern, low-rent, Government-built, integrated housing, instead of for fancy, high-profit projects for the benefit of real estate interests and mortgage sharks, such as the Bunker Hill scheme."

"The people need housing—the land is available, the money can be obtained," Banks told the unionists as he pledged: "As socialist candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles, I stand for the immediate initiation of steps to provide decent housing for people who need it most, at rents they can afford to pay."

## DIVIDE AND RULE

The Banks campaign has also hit hard on a program to abolish all forms of Jim Crow. His platform declares: "Race discrimination and segregation have been fostered under capitalism. The purpose is to divide the working people and keep them from uniting in common struggle against the rule of Big Business. That



ERROLL BANKS

is why the capitalist government pays little attention to the bombing of Negroes and Negro churches in the Southern United States by white supremacists.

"In Los Angeles discriminatory hiring is widespread. Through real-estate maneuvers, minorities are kept from 'restricted' areas and even forced to live in slums. This perpetuates segregation. Political gerrymandering denies representation to those minorities in city government."

"Racial discrimination in all its forms and in every sphere of life must be driven out of Los Angeles. It is high time to carry through complete and immediate integration of all racial and national minorities in the city administration—in the schools, in the fire department and all other divisions of municipal government. Los Angeles needs a socialist mayor to press for adoption of a Fair Employment Practices ordinance and to use the power of his office to secure equality of opportunity in jobs, housing and education for ALL."

## Negro Candidate

Nathaniel Wilkerson, 29-year-old veteran of the Korean War, has filed papers as an independent candidate for City Commissioner in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. He is the first Negro ever to run for this office. A fighter for integration, and a leader of the recently won campaign to integrate the municipal golf course, Wilkerson says he has the solid backing of the Negro community in his candidacy.

# Calendar of Events

**Chicago**  
Sun., April 7 — 3 P.M.  
The Washington Park Forum  
presents  
**CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT**  
Chairman, Illinois-Indiana District of the Communist Party; Smith Act victim, whose case is now in court.  
**VINCENT R. DUNNE**  
One of 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party who were first Smith Act victims; a leader in the strike that made Minneapolis a union town  
In a Discussion of  
"REGROUPMENT"  
What it means to the American People, to the civil rights struggle and to the labor movement.  
777 W. Adams — Third Floor  
Admission Free

**Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum**  
Fri., March 29 — 8 P.M.  
"RACKETEERING IN THE UNIONS"  
Eugene V. Debs Hall  
3737 Woodward, 2nd Fl.

**Los Angeles**  
Friday, March 29  
8 P.M.  
**SYMPOSIUM**  
"IS THERE A FUTURE FOR AMERICAN SOCIALISM?"  
Speakers:  
Bert Cochran  
Editor, American Socialist  
Vincent Hallinan  
1952 Progressive Party Candidate for President  
Dorothy Healy  
L. A. County Chairman, Communist Party  
Carl Marzani  
Writer and Lecturer  
William F. Warde  
L. A. Chairman, Socialist Workers Party  
Moderator:  
Reuben Borough  
Embassy Auditorium  
847 So. Grand  
Admission 50 cents

**San Francisco**  
Sun., March 31 — 6 P.M.  
Election Eve Banquet  
**HEAR ERROLL BANKS**  
Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor  
Prime Beef Dinner  
Donation \$1.75  
1702 E. 4th Street  
For Reservations Call  
Angelus 9 - 4953

**New York**  
Militant Labor Forum  
Sun., March 24 — 7:30 P.M.  
"The New Expansion of West German Capitalism"  
SPEAKER: JOHN BLACK  
Sun., March 31 — 7:30 P.M.  
"The Crisis of the New Middle Class"  
SPEAKER: GORDON BAILEY  
116 University Place  
**American Youth for Socialism**  
holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 116 University Place, at 8 P.M. The discussion on Tues., March 26 will be on "Socialism and the Democratic Party," Bert Deck, Speaker.

**Washington**  
Sun., March 31 — 6 P.M.  
Election Eve Banquet  
**HEAR ERROLL BANKS**  
Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor  
Prime Beef Dinner  
Donation \$1.75  
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# Workers' BOOKSHELF

**By Anne Chester**  
Manager, Pioneer Publishers  
This week, Pioneer Publishers is featuring books and pamphlets on the 20TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION and on the HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION. The works we have on hand have been published both in England and the U. S. They are:  
**HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY**, by Peter Fryer. 96 pages. \$1.00.  
The first full-length eye-witness account of the Hungarian revolution. The author was expelled from the British Communist Party for his truthful dispatches as special correspondent in Budapest for the London Daily Worker.  
\* \* \*  
**HUNGARY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY** (An Appeal Against Expulsion), by Peter Fryer. 48 pages. 25 cents.  
Fryer gives a Marxist analysis of the Hungarian Revolution and

demanding his reinstatement in the Communist Party. He attacks Stalinism in the name of Communism.  
\* \* \*  
**REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY AND THE CRISIS OF STALINISM**, An Analysis by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. 34 pages. 25 cents.  
\* \* \*  
**THE 20TH CONGRESS AND WORLD TROTSKYISM** (Documents, Speeches, Resolutions, Archives and Appendix). Published in England. 124 pages. 50 cents.  
\* \* \*  
The March Book-A-Month offer is still available. Order your copy of:  
**AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES**, by Samuel Yellen. Published at 85. Special price: \$1.50, paper; \$2.50 cloth. (Plus 15 cents mailing charge. Payments must accompany order.)  
A classic account of ten of the

most famous labor battles in American history, from the eight-hour-day struggles in 1896 to the 1934 West Coast Longshore strike.  
\* \* \*

For the Socialist Workers Party viewpoint on Socialist Regroupment, read:  
**REGROUPMENT: A Programmatic Basis for Discussion of Socialist Unity**, by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. 10 cents.

## BOOKS - PAMPHLETS

**On Socialism and the Labor Movement**  
Order Free Catalog from:  
**PIONEER PUBLISHER**  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

# MARIE REED HAUG — T-H VICTIM

By Jean Simon

Joan of Arc or Madame Du-farge? Which of these descriptions fits Marie Reed Haug, principal defendant in the Cleveland conspiracy case initiated by the U.S. Department of Justice early this year. Back in 1949 when Mrs. Haug was sentenced for contempt of court in connection with union activities in the Fawcett Airflex strike Federal Judge J. C. Connell, then a Common Pleas judge, said that she fancied herself as "Joan of Arc, but she is more like Madame Du-farge," a revolutionary figure in Charles Dickens' novel of the French revolution. A Tale of Two Cities, who knitted while watching the aristocrats being guillotined.

But Marie Haug has never fancied herself in either one of these two roles. She looks on herself—and the record bears her out—as one of a legion of trade-union militants in this country who contributed to the building of the labor movement. She is being victimized because of that.

Marie Haug was indicted Jan. 23, along with her husband, Fred Haug, and six others, on the charge of plotting to evade the Taft-Hartley law by filing false non-communist affidavits. She is being prosecuted as a former union official for acts allegedly committed in 1951, 1952 and 1953.

## \$64 QUESTION

The \$64 question is: Why were the indictments brought against her now in 1957 instead of before this? The answer, to those familiar with the labor scene appears to be as follows: In the growing government-employer anti-labor drive, the general strategy continues to be the ancient one—divide and conquer.

First alleged Communists were

prosecuted. Now through the Congressional "investigation" of labor "racketeering" and by stepped-up prosecutions in Taft-Hartley affidavit cases, the entire labor movement is being smeared.

In Cleveland, early in 1957, the government found an apparently favorable set of circumstances for setting new precedents in its anti-union drive. The Haugs, both former militant labor leaders, were without a union base. The local labor movement showed little inclination to struggle for economic demands, let alone defense of principles. The smear campaigns had presumably left the proposed victims defenseless.

Still, proving perjury against the Haugs was no easy task (or it would have been done years ago, to destroy their influence when it was greatest), so a new device was employed. For the first time, "conspiracy" to evade the Taft-Hartley law was charged, with labor figures and alleged Communist Party officials lumped together as defendants.

Another consideration in the timing of the indictments is the fact that Fred Haug's alleged perjury occurred in 1952, and the statute of limitations would bar his prosecution for Taft-Hartley violation after January 14, 1957.

By adding the "conspiracy" charge the government was able to cite earlier affidavits, as well as overt acts, which the law itself would not permit under the simple perjury charge.

An attractive, talented woman with a six-year-old daughter, Marie Haug was born in New Haven, Conn., June 1, 1914, and graduated from Vassar in 1935.

She worked first as a YWCA volunteer in New Haven and New York, then as industrial secretary in Jersey City in 1938-9. Several jobs in industry followed, then, in 1942-3 she served on the staff

of the United Electrical workers as membership activities director in Pittsburgh.

In 1942 Marie Reed married Fred Haug, another UE staff member. Fred, according to a biographical sketch issued to the press Jan. 29, was one of the first CIO organizers in the 1930's, under John L. Lewis. He was with the UE from 1936 to 1950; worked as a lathe operator for a period; was elected president of his local of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union in 1952 in Cleveland, and was fired in 1953 after his plant changed affiliation to the United Auto Workers.

From 1953 to the present he has been blacklisted and unable to hold a job except for brief periods. He is now unemployed.

The Haugs came to Cleveland in 1943. Marie was on the staff of the UE. In 1944 she was elected local representative for Local 735 and served as business agent until 1956, when the local affiliated with the International Association of Machinists.

**FIRST WOMAN OFFICIAL**  
About 1946 Mrs. Haug was elected treasurer, the first woman to serve as an officer of the Cleveland CIO Council. She also served as treasurer and member of the executive committee of the Political Action Committee and on the State CIO Civil Rights Committee.

As a member of the General Executive Board of the UE from 1954 to 1956, Mrs. Haug is believed to be the only woman ever to have served on the top executive body of an international union in the metal and machine industries.

Following the CIO purge of the UE and a number of other unions in 1949, Marie's career in the local and state councils was

ended, but she retained a strong base in the plants she serviced, despite concerted efforts of employers, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and raiding unions to destroy it.

An ironical sidelight on the local CIO witch-hunting campaign to destroy the influence of Marie Haug was the revelation two years ago that a woman placed in the CIO Council office as secretary to serve as watch-dog for the right wing, had stolen \$94,140 of union funds.

The 33-year-old Miss Mildred Charvat, daughter of a retired city detective, admitted the theft, refused to reveal the name of the man she claimed she gave the money to, and was sentenced to 12 to 30 years in a woman's reformatory.

The sanctimonious Millie has been treated with sympathy and consideration by the "gentlemen" of the press, the courts and even the labor movement. But how have they treated Marie Reed Haug?

Scurrilous red-baiting pamphlets and leaflets attacking her were distributed in 1951, when Mrs. Haug was an independent candidate for Board of Education. She was not elected, but 45,000 votes were counted for her.

Few witch-hunting committees have come to Cleveland without newspaper stories speculating on whether she would be called in for questioning and prosecution. In 1952 a session with the Senate Internal Security Committee was followed by a grand jury subpoena, but no indictment was returned.

Only in 1957 did a federal grand jury finally indict her—first for perjury in filing Taft-Hartley affidavits; then, as though fearful they couldn't make

it stick, for "conspiracy" to file false affidavits.

The Haugs replied with the following statement to the press: "The second indictment proves the flimsy nature of the whole case against us. We are not Communists. We are innocent of any perjury or conspiracy. This conspiracy indictment has been engineered to associate us in the public eye with alleged Communist leaders, and in order to evade legal protections which the conspiracy statute by-passes."

"The use of conspiracy indictments against labor is a throw-back to union-busting techniques of many years ago. All honest trade unionists recognize its dangers."

"The average American would be better off if persons in authority did something about the real conspiracies now going on to raise prices and keep taxes high, instead of manufacturing cases against labor leaders whose goal in life has been to improve the lot of their membership."

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